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Page: 1

UNCLASSIFIED

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Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y . T E X T

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, NU, SP

SUBJECT: COMANDANTE ZERO VOWS TO CONTINUE THE  
POLITICAL STRUGGLE

1. APPEARING ON THE SPANISH TELEVISION TALK SHOW "EL PORTADO," EDEN PASTORA CRITICIZED BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SANDINISTA REGIME. PORTRAYING HIMSELF AS REPRESENTING THE TRUE NICARAGUAN SANDINISTA REVOLUTION, HE CHARACTERIZED THE JUNTA AS "TRAITORS TO THE REVOLUTION." HE ALSO SAID HIS GUERRILLA MOVEMENT FAILED BECAUSE THE CIA DID NOT ALLOW HIM THE "POLITICAL-MILITARY SPACE" TO SUCCEED. PASTORA OFFERED TWO REASONS FOR GIVING UP THE ARMED FIGHT: ONE, THAT U.S. AID TO THE CONTRAS PROHIBITED HIS OWN GROUP'S SUCCESS, AND, TWO, THE CIA PREVENTED HIM FROM RECEIVING ANY SUPPORT. HE LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF RETURNING TO THE FIGHT IF "THE U.S., AND OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD SUPPORT HIM FINA2. HAVING GIVEN UP THE GUERRILLA FIGHT, PASTORA SAID HE HOPES TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE POLITICALLY BY HEADING "A MOVEMENT OF THE CENTER." IN THIS HE PLANS TO PRESENT "A THIRD WAY" BETWEEN THE NICARAGUAN REGIME AND THE U.S. SUPPORTED CONTRAS. HE EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT THE PLAN

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PAGE 02 MADRID 08401 221358Z

COULD WORK IF "THE DEMOCRACIES SUPPORT IT," BUT DOUBTS HE CAN SUCCEED BY WORKING FROM WITHIN NICARAGUA. "ONE

n/a  
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Page: 1

CANNOT RETURN TO A COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY 3,000 CUBAN SOLDIERS DISGUISED AS INTERNATIONALISTS, A COUNTRY THAT LACKS FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, WHERE ALL WHO OPPOSE THE GOVERNMENT, EVEN THOUGH THEIR CRITICISM IS REVOLUTIONARY, ARE CONSIDERED COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY, A CIA AGENT, A TRAITOR," HE EXPLAINED.

3. THE FORMER ANTI-SOMOZA FIGHTER SAID HE ABANDONED THE SANDINISTAS IN 1982 WHEN HE REALIZED "HE DID NOT FIGHT THE REVOLUTION IN ORDER TO DRIVE A MERCEDES OR LIVE IN THE VILLAS OF THE SOMOCISTAS." "I ALSO REALIZED," HE CONTINUED, "THAT I DID NOT WANT TO BE IN THE HANDS OF MOSCOW OR CUBA." HE FURTHER CRITICIZED THE SANDINISTA REGIME FOR ITS INABILITY TO MAKE POLITICAL DECISIONS WHEN A CONSENSUS CANNOT BE REACHED. AS AN EXAMPLE OF SANDINISTA INDECISIVENESS PASTORA POINTED TO HIS EXPERIENCE AFTER HE GAVE UP THE GUERRILLA FIGHT AND WAS IN A COSTA RICAN JAIL. WHILE HE WAS IN JAIL SEVERAL FSLN LEADERS WANTED TO TALK TO HIM, A SIMPLE ACTION THAT PASTORA SAID WOULD HAVE CAUSED CONGRESS TO VOTE AGAINST AID TO THE CONTRAS. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO PASTORA, NO CONVERSATIONS WERE EVER HELD BECAUSE TOMAS BORGE OPPOSED THE IDEA AND NO CONSENSUS WAS REACHED. DESPITE HIS DISILLUSIONMENT PASTORA ALSO SAID HE FEELS CLOSER TO THE ACTUAL LEADERS OF NICARAGUA THAN TO THE CONTRA LEADERS. HIS DIFFERENCES WITH HIS DIFFERENCES WITH THE COMANDANTES ARE "POLITICAL AND MORAL" RATHER THAN PERSONAL, HE SAID.

4. FINALLY, PASTORA SAID THAT UNLIKE THE COMANDANTES, HE DOES NOT FEAR AN IMMINENT U.S. INVASION. IN HIS ANALYSIS THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS ARE NOT RIGHT. HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT SHOULD "THE MARINES LAND I WOULD

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PAGE 03 . MADRID 08401 221358Z

BE AT THE SIDE OF THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE. SHOULD THE PEOPLE REJECT THE INVASION I WOULD REJECT IT ALSO AND TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE INVADERS." SERVI

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5. FROM MADRID PASTORA TRAVELLED TO BARCELONA WHERE A PLANNED PRESS CONFERENCE WAS INTERRUPTED BY PRO-SANDINISTA DEMONSTRATORS. THIRTY MEMBERS OF A GROUP CALLED "THE CATALAN COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH NICARAGUA" MINGLED WITH JOURNALISTS IN THE LAW OFFICES OF JAVIER NART, WHERE THE PRESS CONFERENCE WAS TO BE HELD. THE DEMONSTRATORS THREW EGGS AT PASTORA, AMID

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Page: 3

CATCALLS OF "SON OF REAGAN", "TRAITOR", AND "GET OUT OF SPAIN." THE EX-GUERRILLA LEADER SHOUTED BACK "IF THIS IS A DEMOCRACY, LET ME SPEAK." BUT HE WAS UNABLE TO GO ON AND THE PRESS CONFERENCE WAS CANCELLED. NO ARRESTS WERE REPORTED. SERVICE

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Page: 3